1: Karsten--184 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 721, 186 (1928-29)

"Closely connected with this antagonism between the different Jibaro tribes is their marked endogamy. Marriages are, as a rule, only contracted between persons belonging to families related to each other and socially united. When it has been said that they, like other Indians, particularly make war against other tribes for the sake of procuring women, (1) the wives of the vanquished enemies regularly becoming the wives of their victors, this clearly involves an exaggeration. The Jibaros fear and detest strange tribes--especially of their own nation --and do not set foot in their dominions except with inimical intentions. How the Jibaros regard exogamous marriages, or sexual relations with members of strange tribes in general, may be inferred from the fact that if a widow or some other woman has been made pregnant by a man belonging to another tribe, the woman is compelled to kill the child as soon as it is born, if it is a boy, 'in order that the strange man may not leave offspring within the tribe'. The relations to strange tribes will be dealt with again in connection with the wars of the Indians. For the moment it is important to point out that the Jibaros are not likely to take their wives from tribes whom they regard as mortal enemies; such cases rather form exceptions than the rule. This leads us to examine the marriage customs of the Indians."

"1. Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros', in L'Anthropologie, XVIII. 605. 615."

l: Karsten--185 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
l16, 582, 611 (1928-29)

"A consequence of the endogamic rules is that the persons who marry among the Jibaros are generally relatives. As a matter of fact, it was looked upon as the duty of a Jibaro man to marry his daughter to a youth who claimed her by virtue of his relationship. Custom prescribes that a near male relative shall be preferred to a more distant one. A family father is of course anxious to marry his daughter to the young man he likes best and of whose qualities he has a high opinion, and it is natural that for this reason he is not always inclined to give her to one of his nearest relatives. In such cases there may be complaint on the part of the man thus neglected. 'I am your nearest kin', he may say, 'and still you give your daughter to So-and-So who is a more distant relative.' Still there are degrees of kinship within which marriages are forbidden. Cousins on the male side cannot marry; they are looked upon as brother and sister and marriage between them would be regarded as incest. On the other hand, there is no prohibition to marriages between children of a brother and sister or of two sisters. On the contrary, such marriages are looked upon as perfectly natural. Similarly, although a paternal uncle may never marry his niece, he is not prohibited from marrying his sister's daughter. The Jibaros,...are a strictly paternal people: they reckon descent only in the male line, women being wholly left out of account."

1: Karsten--185-186 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 835, 684 (1928-29)

"Incest and any illicit sexual intercourse is regarded with the greatest horror and severely punished by cruel ill-treatment, sometimes even by both parties being put to death. One case of this kind came under my notice when a young Jibaro Indian eloped with his father's sister. All the male relatives of the family were pursuing the couple, and they assured me that if they got hold of them they would kill them. The Indians declared to me that such a marriage was a 'very bad thing'. [186] On further inquiry I learned that according to their belief a monstrous child (pasúna) was likely to be born from such an illicit intercourse, and this again would be unlucky for the whole family. The peculiar ideas that the Jibaros have about monstrous and deformed children will be mentioned later on."

1: Karsten--216 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 836, 582 (1928-29)

"Among the Jibaros premature sexual intercourse is prohibited to a youth until he has passed through the initiation for manhood and become what is called a tsémbrama. If a boy has intercourse with a woman before that time, it is believed, he will soon die. Generally a Jibaro youth marries when he [sic] 18 to 20 years old."

l: Karsten--224 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 582, 842, 163 (1928-29)

"After the 'tobacco feast' the conjugal life of the Jibaro couple generally begins, in some cases--that is to say, when the girl is not very young--even immediately after betrothal. As a rule, however, the Jibaro woman does not become a mother until she is 16 or 17 years old; at any rate I have not among these Indians seen younger mothers. --The Canelos woman generally marries at a more mature age."

12: Rivet--607-608 (no date) 1907 Jívaro
116, 582

In spite of the precocity of the unions, it is rare for a Jíbaro woman to become a mother before the age of thirteen or fourteen years.

Marriage may occur with any degree of kinship except the degrees in the direct line or the first collateral degree.

The Indians seem little concerned with harmonizing the age of the [608] spouses, and one often sees men of thirty to forty marrying little girls of six to twelve.

25. Vigna--43-44 (no date) 1945 Jivaro
116, 582

They [KS: betrothed couple] must always belong to near or distant kinship or to the same tribe. The daughters of one tribe never marry with young boys or men of other tribes, especially [44] unknown tribes. In the recounting of their relatives and tribes, the Jíbaros are very skilful and have a tenacious memory; for them, it is a question of life and death.

26: Brüning--70 [4] (1902) 1928 Jívaro
116, 582

The age for marriage does not seem to be definitely set. In one case I saw a girl at the most 10 years old married to an old Indian. The little girl, conscious of her dignity, acted like an old woman in the house. But copulation is said to be ruled out at this early age.

31: Danielsson--102 (1946-48) 1949 Jivaro
116, 571, 602, 582

"In our so-called civilized societies the correlations between the attraction-and-repulsion-patterns and the more formal patterns, such as familial relationships, economic status, occupation, club membership, etc., have to be taken into consideration. In the Jibaro society there are no formal patterns except the familial pattern. How the Jibaros designate familial relationship is shown on Chart I. The Jibaro family is patripotestal. The children use, for instance, the same word, aparu, for their biological father as well as for their paternal uncles. No parallel exists to this on the mother's side. The parents use the same word, nauanda, both for the daughters and the daughters-in-law. For the son-in-law, however, another term, aweru, is used than for the son, uchi. A marriage between cousins on the father's side or between a paternal uncle and his niece is regarded as incest, but on the mother's side marriages of these types are regarded as natural."

/333 cont./

000 practice the use of weapons, live for battle and the hunt. Be-
595 cause of the highly developed sense of freedom of this nation, no
357 one wants to be a servant; there can be no prisoners of war re-
[727] duced to slavery because of the method of warfare to be discussed forthwith. Who is supposed to till the fields? Who is to perform all the tasks which do not befit the dignity of a warrior? It seems to me that a number of recognized wives are better than a swarm
[462] of servant maids subject to the despotism of the master! The men fell the trees, erect the house, and prepare a piece of land for cultivation; the cultivation of the field, always lying in the forest at some distance from the dwelling, like all other work, falls to the women.

582 One custom in the choice of wives deserves mention.
583 That is, a man can take a small child, even one still at its mother's breast, as a wife; he then has the advantage of being able to rear the girl according to his inclinations, but he may also be obliged to take the mother with all the other children into his house and feed them.

628 Up to now I have purposely avoided mentioning the hair
[579] style, since this is conditioned by a peculiarly developed sense
[302] of honor, in the service of which the man's whole life is dedicated, as a consequence of which the whole nation is facing its certain downfall. The terrible custom of blood revenge prevails here with merciless harshness. For every slain member of a family the nearest relatives, for every fallen warrior the whole tribe, are obliged to take blood revenge. Either the victor himself must be murdered, or a fellow tribesman, a relative, must be sacrificed. The injured party arms secretly for an attack; the forest is soundlessly tranversed, /334/ with all dwellings avoided, in order to be able to carry out in the darkness a sudden attack on the unprepared habitation. If possible, the house is
[202] set afire and the inmates murdered. Seldom does an attack succeed so completely that there is not time for one of the inhabitants to give the alarm signal with the war drum; often even violent battles take place. Then the families living in the neighboring tambos come to support their friends, pursue the

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

normally consider themselves mutually obligated to defend each other's households from enemies. 606

Men strongly prefer to have two or more wives. The subsistence productivity of the household closely correlates with the number of wives possessed by a man, because the women are responsible for more of the agricultural production. Thus, a satisfactory household production of food and the important manioc beer is dependent upon polygyny. 595 592

The most common number of wives for a man to have is two, one, or three, in that order. The emphasis on polygyny, in part, reflects the fact that the ratio of adult females to adult males is approximately 2:1, largely as a consequence of the attrition of the adult male population through killing. The demand for wives nevertheless exceeds the supply, as evidenced by the common practice of "reserving" a prepuberty girl as a future wife by giving gifts of featherwork and trade goods to her parents. Not infrequently, her future husband then takes her home with him to raise her in his house prior to the actual consummation of the marriage. The extreme nature of the demand for wives is illustrated by the fact that a man sometimes gets a pregnant woman and her husband to agree to "reserve" the unborn child for him if it should be female. Needless to say, these practices result in marriages in which the husband is often substantially older. 162 595 584 [582]

An unmarried girl of post-puberty age is normally courted and involved in the decision to become a wife. The suitor, after he informally ascertains her willingness, sends a close male kinsman of his own generation to act as a go-between to sound out the girl's father who, in turn, consults with the girl and her mother. If the go-between reports back to the suitor that there is no opposition, then the latter goes late 584 585

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boys perform most of the tasks of their
865 fathers, including participation in the defense of the house and in attacks on enemies. A son may accompany his father on a raid as early as the age of six; but it is more common for this to happen when he is nine or older.

884 [825] When a boy reaches the age of about sixteen, he formally undertakes to establish his adult status by going into the forest, killing a tree sloth, and making a *tsantsa* of its head (for the supernatural reasons, see pp. 143–49). Then two *tsantsa* feasts of celebration are given by the father or other older male relative in which all the ritual precautions of the human head *tsantsa* celebration are observed, although the feasting is not as lavish.

884 292 301 [237] [721] With the second feast, the transition of the head-taker into adult life is implicitly recognized, and he is now entitled to wear the *etsemat*, the basic headpiece of Jivaro men, consisting of a long cotton band with a red and yellow toucan feather tassel (see Plates 12–15). The donning of this headband has significant overtones since it is used by men not only to keep their hair in place but also in war to hang a human head from the shoulder. He may also now carve a round stool for himself, although he usually does not do this until, or unless, he has participated in a regular killing expedition. Finally, the giving of the feasts means that he is entitled to get married, but he probably will not actually do this until he is about twenty-one to twenty-three years old.

884 [721] [582]

881 884 A somewhat analogous pair of feasts is given as puberty celebrations for a girl. Both feasts are sponsored by the girl's father, the first being a minor affair of two days' length; the second being given about half a year later, after her family has been able to accumulate enough chickens and pigs to feed a large number of guests for six or seven days. The supernatural aspect of this "coming out" celebration

[824] [276] [787]

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595 The most difficult situation tends to occur when a husband brings home a new wife who is not a sister of his pre-existing [591] wife (wives). Since he is already married, he cannot practice temporary matrilocality at the house of his new wife's parents, and thus he must introduce her into a household where the other adult female(s) will tend to be antagonistic. Usually the husband attempts to bring the bride in unannounced so as to take his other wife (wives) by surprise, and tries to act as though the new wife is just a routine addition to the household. Reportedly, however, it is common for an irate pre-existing wife to unleash a temper tantrum, throwing pottery vessels and other handy artifacts at the husband. She may also soon be engaging in quarrels and hair-pullings with the new addition, but normally life in the dwelling gradually settles down, particularly after the new wife has a baby.

• 582 The only kinswoman with whom marriage is formally [601] sanctioned is a cross-cousin (waihe) from either parent's side [591] of the family. A man does have the alternative of finding a marriage partner outside of his kindred, but this normally requires him to move out of his home neighborhood (because of the practice of temporary matrilocality) and consequently to live among strangers who may be intent on killing him for some earlier wrong by one of his kinsmen or simply because he took one of their own preferred potential mates. Slightly over half of actual marriages are with cross-cousins.

593 With the normatively unrestricted practice of polygyny 582 creating a high demand for unattached women throughout [595] interior Jivaro society, the preference for cross-cousin marriage promotes conflict in the nuclear family when brothers become old enough to marry, for they all share the same few [591] preferred mates. Not surprisingly, many of the disputes among kinsmen thus arise between brothers over the question of

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

wife acquisition, and the practice of matrilocal residence tends to isolate the brothers from one another. In fact, the norm is for a married man to side with his *iši* (father-in-law and father of cross-cousins) and *sai* (wife's brothers and male cross-cousins) in disputes against his own consanguineal relatives. The potential reward of obtaining more daughters as wives from his father-in-law often acts as an additional, but unspoken, inducement for a man to take the side of his in-laws in a quarrel.

By the time a man is ready to seek a female cross-cousin (*washe*), her father may be dead, and he thus commonly must instead ask her brother (his *sai*) for her. Since there is a scarcity of marriageable women, it is common for her brother to demand reciprocity as part of the agreement, i.e., an exchange of sisters for marriage. Such an arrangement has the advantage of entailing none of the bride-service obligations which would be due the bride's father if he were alive, and of not requiring the normal temporary matrilocal residence at the bride's father's house, which may be in a "dangerous" neighborhood for the groom. As a by-product, the sister exchange also can cement friendly relations between cross-cousins of the same generation, as may be seen in the following case described by one informant:

> Tukupi and Ainja are male cross-cousins [*sai*]. Tukupi had an unmarried sister, Nampirā. Ainja asked Tukupi for her (the father of Tukupi and Nampirā was dead). Tukupi gave her to Ainja, and Ainja and Nampirā became husband and wife. But then Ainja did not want to give *his* own sister to Tukupi. Also Ainja frequently beat Nampirā when he got drunk.
>
> So Tukupi went to the house of Ainja. He said, "Why do you beat my sister? If you want to hit my sister, then hit me."
>
> They began to fight (wrestling and hitting each other with pieces of wood). Then Tukupi left. Thereafter, whenever they

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

get along well with kinsmen, and how to survive in general, as illustrated by this excerpt from such a morning monologue:

Listen, son, when you grow up, do not enter the house of Ampuša, who is my enemy. When I die, when my daughter is grown, she can marry whom she wants. If her husband is from a distant neighborhood, don't go to visit her. Afterwards, when you have married and I am dead, if you have a daughter, I know that one day the son of my enemy will make peace with you. But don't give him your daughter, or he will kill you. When I die, you have to give your sister to your true [*nekás*] *ni*. Thus you will live in peace and there will be no fighting or anything. If you give her to another man, then when you drink beer and get drunk, that man, although he is married to your sister, can speak to my enemy to plot your death. Thus are they accustomed to kill.

Then when your daughter is married, never speak harshly to your *awe* [son-in-law] or get mad at him or he will leave your daughter and become your enemy. When one never gets angry with his *awe*, and lives peacefully, the *awe* divides his game, and also his chickens and pigs, with you. Sometimes, when we get old, we cannot build a house. But if we have an *awe*, he will help build it.

Never beat your wife or get drunk. If some other man sees this happen and talks about it, it will be a shame. If you live well and give your daughter to an *awe*, then the father or brother of this *awe* may come to visit in order to see how you live. If you don't live well together, then the father of this *awe* will say, "This man is bad."

Also you must tell your daughter, "Obey your husband, supply good food, and do not commit adultery with other men. Otherwise he will surely beat you. And if the family of your husband comes to visit, you have to get up immediately and serve beer and food to the guests. If you don't, then they and many other people will say that you don't get up, even though your husband asks you to do so, and this is bad."

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684 she does not thus invite him to return, however, he remains
593 separated.

If a man repeatedly commits adultery, his wife has the
586 right to poison him. Of course, the brothers and other close
837 relatives of the man will attempt to murder her in retaliation.
[278] Poisoning is also the sanction against a woman who deserts her husband. Desertion of a wife by a man is virtually unheard of, except when she is implacably hostile towards him, in which case it is proper for him to leave.

684 Incest is a sexual offense that merits different degrees of
835 punishment depending upon the degree of relationship. Sex-
605 ual intercourse with any known relative other than a cross-
• 582 cousin (*wabe*), or a more distant relative also classified as a *wabe*, is considered to be some degree of incest. If such a pair marries, they lose the respect of the neighborhood, and are called jokingly, *aka* (a species of worm) because, as one informant said, "worms enter wherever they like." The couple will be told, "We don't want *aka* to multiply here. Go to live far away." Although the couple is embarrassed, they ordinarily remain in the same neighborhood.

684 Deemed far more serious are cases of incest within the
593 conjugal family, i.e., between parents and their children or
835 between siblings. If a man is found to have had intercourse
[605] with his daughter, one of the girl's *wabe* (male cross-cousin
[586] and potential mate) has the right to beat him with his fists. Then the father usually leaves the neighborhood and also his wife separates from him. If a man has intercourse with his own sister, a brother has the right to slash his head, and to tell him to leave the neighborhood. If there is no brother, it is
[605] the duty of the father. If the father is not living, a male cross-cousin has the right to beat, but not to slash, the offender.

684 Clearly defined norms exist regarding the inheritance of